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October 3, 1961

Mr. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Arthur:

Thank you for your note of September 27th about Fabregat.

I cannot quite agree with the historical analogy. The situation would be analogous if the French had established a government in Richmond against the will of the Southern states and if the North had been pressured by Great Britain to accept this fact. What do you think this would have done for future United States-Great Britain relations for a generation?

My nightmare remains that a continuation of present trends will lead to a resurgence of nationalism in Germany and to Soviet-German deals on a national basis, wrecking the achievements of fifteen years of European integration. I am willing to be flexible on security questions, on access procedures and similar matters. I have long been an advocate of taking the initiative in negotiations. But to give up the principle of self-determination as it applies to Germany will have catastrophic consequences. I would be delighted to be wrong.

Warm regards as always.

Sincerely yours,


Henry A. Kissinger